

## Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 9 MBFR VIENNA 0090

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PARM, NATO  
SUBJ: MBFR: INFORMAL SESSION WITH EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES OF  
MARCH 1, 1977

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN THE MARCH 1, 1977 INFORMAL SESSION OF  
THE VIENNA TALKS, THE ALLIES WERE REPRESENTED BY THE BELGIAN  
REP, FRG REP AND US REP, AND THE EAST BY SOVIET REPS TARASOV  
AND SHUSTOV, POLISH REP DABROWA, AND CZECHOSLOVAK REP MEISNER.  
MILITARY ADVISERS ALSO PARTICIPATED.

2. THE FORMAT OF THE SESSION WAS THE SAME AS IN THE PREVIOUS  
SESSION: EACH SIDE MADE ONE GENERAL STATEMENT AND DISCUSSION  
THEN MOVED TO DATA AND COUNTING RULES. EASTERN REPS WERE RATHER  
QUERULOUS IN THEIR COMMENTS. THEY RESPONDED IN AN UNCONVINCING  
WAY TO WESTERN STATEMENTS IN THE PREVIOUS SESSION THAT THROUGHOUT  
THE NEGOTIATIONS THE EAST HAD TAKEN POSITIONS INCONSISTENT WITH  
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ITS PRESENT DATA CLAIMS. THEY CLAIMED THE WEST WAS REPETITIVE  
AND UNCLEAR IN ITS QUESTIONS TO THE EAST AND WAS NOT ANSWERING  
EASTERN QUESTIONS ON WESTERN DATA FULLY. EASTERN REPS SUGGESTED  
THAT BOTH SIDES TABLE SEPARATE FIGURES FOR THE MANPOWER  
STRENGTH OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT.

3. WESTERN REPS ASKED FURTHER QUESTIONS ON EASTERN DATA. EASTERN

REPS POSTPONED RESPONSE TO WESTERN QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THE TERM USED BY EAST QUOTE POLISH TERRITORIAL FORCES UNQUOTE THE CONSCRIPT PERSONNEL OF WHICH THE EAST HAS SAID IT HAD EXCLUDED FROM ITS FIGURES, REFERRED SOLELY TO THE ORGANIZATION KNOWN AS WOJSK OBRONA TERRITORIALNI (WOT) OR TO OTHERS IN ADDITION. WESTERN REPS GAVE FURTHER EXAMPLES OF CONTRADICTION BETWEEN POSITIONS THE EAST HAD TAKEN DURING THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND PRESENT EASTERN CLAIMS OF NEAR PARITY IN MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE AREA.

4. IN HIS OPENING GENERAL PRESENTATION, BELGIAN REP POINTED OUT THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE THAT THE STAGE TWO COMMITMENT THE EAST HAD IN MIND FOR WESTERN PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US WAS A GENERAL ONE. TO THE CONTRARY, THE GENERAL COMMITMENT ENVISAGED BY THE EAST WAS APPARENTLY A COMMITMENT BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO REDUCE BOTH THEIR MILITARY MANPOWER AND THEIR ARMAMENTS BY THE SAME PERCENTAGE, WHICH WERE THE CORE ELEMENTS OF THE EASTERN REDUCTION PROGRAM.

5. CZECHOSLOVAK REP ATTACKED THE WESTERN PROPOSAL THAT US SHOULD RETAIN FREEDOM OF DECISION AS TO WHETHER TO REDUCE ITS FORCES IN PHASE I BY INDIVIDUALS. HE CLAIMED THE EASTERN METHOD OF REDUCTION BY ENTIRE UNITS WOULD MAKE A MORE EFFECTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE REDUCTION OF THE MILITARY CONCENTRATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

6. FRG REP RESPONDED TO EARLIER EASTERN QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THE WEST HAD USED THE ROSTER STRENGTH METHOD IN COUNTING THE MILITARY MANPOWER OF THE NATO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS; THAT THE  
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WESTERN COUNT WAS THE ACTUAL STRENGTH OF ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL AS OF 1 JAN 1976; THE TERM QUOTE ACTUAL STRENGTH UNQUOTE REFERRED TO ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL ACTUALLY IN THE AREA OR ASSIGNED TO IT BUT TEMPORARILY ABSENT AS DISTINGUISHED FROM PEACETIME AUTHORIZED STRENGTH. FRG REP THEN ASKED THE EAST WHETHER THE EAST HAD MADE ANY CHANGES IN THE STATUS OF WARSAW PACT MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE AREA PRIOR TO 1 JAN 1976 AND WHETHER THE TERM QUOTE POLISH TERRITORIAL FORCES UNQUOTE REFERRED SOLELY TO THE ORGANIZATION KNOWN AS WOJSK OBRONA TERRITORIALNI (WOT) OR TO OTHERS IN ADDITION, AND WHETHER THE EAST HAD EXCLUDED ANY POLISH ACTIVE DUTY PERSONNEL FROM ITS COUNT OTHER THAN THE CONSCRIPT PERSONNEL OF THE WOJSK OBRONA TERRITORIALNI.

7. TARASOV RESPONDED TO NETHERLANDS REP'S CHARGES IN FEB 22 SESSION OF INCONSISTENCY BETWEEN POSITIONS THE EAST HAD TAKEN IN THE PAST AND PRESENT EASTERN DATA ON EASTERN FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA. TARASOV CLAIMED THE EAST HAD REJECTED THE WESTERN DISPARITY THEORY FROM THE OUTSET. THE WESTERN

IMPRESSION THAT THIS WAS NOT THE CASE WAS SUBJECTIVE OR  
MISTAKEN. HE SAID THAT EASTERN ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE WEST'S  
USE OF THE GROUND FORCES AS THE MAIN CRITERION OF THE FORCE  
RELATIONSHIP IN THE AREA AND THE EASTERN CONTENTION THAT ALL  
FORCE ELEMENTS HAD TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT TOGETHER TO FORM A  
REALISTIC EVALUATION OF THE EAST-WEST FORCE RELATIONSHIP WERE  
NOT AN IMPLICIT ADMISSION OF A DISPARITY BUT, RATHER,  
REPRESENTED THE EASTERN VIEW THAT REDUCTIONS SHOULD TAKE  
ALL FORCE ELEMENTS INTO ACCOUNT. TARASOV SAID THE EAST'S CHANGE  
OF POSITION REGARDING WARSAW PACT MILITARY PERSONNEL PERFORMING  
FUNCTIONS ALLEGEDLY PERFORMED BY CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES OF THE ARMED  
FORCES IN THE WEST WAS TAKEN IN RESPONSE TO FLAT WESTERN REJECTION  
OF THE EASTERN POSITION. HE SAID THE EAST OPPOSED PARITY IN  
MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE AREA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WESTERN  
COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING PROPOSAL BUT THAT EQUAL PERCENTAGE  
REDUCTIONS WOULD NOT FRUSTRATE PARITY UNQUOTE, ALTHOUGH  
THE EAST CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THAT EFFECTIVE

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REDUCTIONS SHOULD INCLUDE ARMAMENTS

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FROM US REP MBFR

AS WELL AS MANPOWER. THE REASONS FOR ANY DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE WESTERN AND EASTERN FIGURE ON WARSAW PACT FORCES WAS TO BE FOUND IN WESTERN FIGURES, WHOSE METHOD OF CALCULATION WAS STILL UNCLEAR TO THE EAST. THE WEST HAD GIVEN EVIDENCE OF LACK OF ASSURANCE ABOUT ITS OWN FIGURES DURING THE TALKS. TARASOV AGAIN ASKED WESTERN REPS TO PRESENT THE BASIS ON WHICH THEY HAD CALCULATED EASTERN FORCES AND HAD REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT THERE WAS A DISPARITY BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN MILITARY MANPOWER.

8. BELGIAN REP REPLIED TO POINTS MADE BY GDR REP IN FEBRUARY 22 INFORMAL SESSION. HE RESPONDED TO GDR REP'S QUESTION JUST REPEATED BY TARASOV AS TO WHAT WAS THE BASIS FOR WESTERN ASSERTIONS THAT THERE WAS A DISPRITY IN NUMERICAL STRENGTH BETWEEN THE GROUND FORCES OF THE NATO COUNTRIES AND THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES, STATING THAT THE WEST HAD USED THE SAME RULES FOR BOTH SIDES AND HAD COUNTED ALL ACTIVE DUTY PERSONNEL ON  
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BOTH SIDES. BELGIAN REP ALSO DEALT WITH ALLOCATION OF CERTAIN TYPES OF FORCES BETWEEN GROUND AND AIR AND OTHER SPECIFIC QUESTIONS RAISED BY GDR REP IN FEBRUARY 22 SESSION, STRESSING THAT IN ANY EVENT, THE ALLOCATION OF FORCES BETWEEN GROUND AND AIR DID NOT AFFECT THE TOTAL OF MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE AREA.

9. POLISH REP SAID THE EAST CONTINUED WILLING TO ENGAGE IN A BUSINESSLIKE AND CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION OF DATA. BUT THE WESTERN QUESTIONS ON EASTERN DATA WERE REPETITIVE AND UNCLEAR AND ADDRESSED QUESTIONS TO WHICH THE EAST HAD ALREADY GIVEN ANSWERS. POLISH REP GAVE A LIST OF ORGGANIZATIONS EXCLUDED FROM THE EASTERN COUNT WHICH WAS SOMEWHAT LESS DETAILED THAN WESTERN RESPONSE TO EASTERN QUESTION ON THIS POINT AND ANSWERED TWO OTHER SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ASKED ON EARLIER OCCASIONS BY THE WEST. ASKED BY WESTERN REPS TO RESPND TO FRG REP'S QUESTION IN THE PRESENT SESSION CONCERNING THE WOJSK OBRONA TERRITORIALNI, POLISH REP SAID HE WOULD RESPOND AT A LATER POINT. POLISH REP AGAIN ASKED WHAT WAS THE BASIS OF THE WESTERN EVALUATION THAT THERE WAS A DISPARITY BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN FORCES IN THE AREA, CLAIMING THAT BELGIAN REP'S REPLY TO THIS QUESTION HAD NOT BEEN SATISFACTORY. HE ALSO AGAIN ASKED EARLIER EASTERN QUESTION AS TO WHETHER WEST HAD USED THE ROSTER STRENGTH PRINCIPLE, CLAIMING FRG REP'S RESPONSE ON THIS SUBJECT HAD BEEN QUOTE ELUSIVE UNQUOTE. POLISH REP THEN SUGGESTED THAT SINCE WESTERN REPS CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT THERE WAS A SERIOUS DISPARITY BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN FORCES, DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD EXAMINE THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, EACH OF THEM SEPARATELY, IN ORDER TO ASSIST FURTHER DISCUSSION OF DATA.

10. US REP PRESENTED FURTHER INCONSISTENCIES BETWEEN POSITIONS EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD TAKEN IN THE PAST AND THEIR PRESENT DATA ASSERTIONS. THESE WERE FIRST, THE POSITION REPEATEDLY TAKEN BY THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES IN THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AFTER THE WEST HAD TABLED DATA THAT AN EXCHANGE OF DATA WAS NOT NECESSARY SINCE EACH SIDE HAD A  
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GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE FORCES OF THE OTHER AND, SECOND, REPEATED EASTERN CLAIMS THAT THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF THE COMMON CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER WOULD LEAD TO A CHANGE IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES IN THE AREA. END SUMMARY.

IN VIEW OF INTEREST OF WASHINGTON AGENCIES, WE ARE SENDING BY TELEGRAM THAT PORTION OF THE INFORMAL RECORD DEALING WITH DISCUSSION OF DATA. REMAINDER OF RECORD ON GENERAL TOPICS BEING SENT BY AIRGRAM.

22. DRAWING ON TALKING POINTS APPROVED BY THE AD HOC GROUP FRG REP SAID THAT, TURNING TO THE OTHER SUBJECT ON THE AGENDA, IN THE LAST INFORMAL SESSION, WESTERN REPS HAD TOLD THE EAST THAT THEY WOULD GIVE A FURTHER REPLY TO EASTERN QUESTION AS TO WHETHER IN COUNTING THE MILITARY MANPOWER OF THE NATO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD USED THE ROSTER STRENGTH METHOD. THE WESTERN ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION WAS THAT, AS WESTERN REPS HAD TOLD THE EAST, THE WEST HAD COUNTED ALL UNIFORMED ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL OF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AS OF JANUARY 1, 1976, INCLUDING PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO UNITS IN THE AREA BUT TEMPORARILY ABSENT. THE WESTERN COUNT WAS THE ACTUAL STRENGTH OF ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL ON THAT DATE. THE TERM ACTUAL STRENGTH REFERRED TO ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL ACTUALLY IN THE AREA OR ASSIGNED TO IT BUT TEMPORARILY ABSENT, AS DISTINGUISHED FROM PEACETIME AUTHORIZED STRENGTH.

23. IN RESPONSE TO EASTERN QUESTIONS, FRG REP SAID PEACETIME AUTHORIZED STRENGTH WAS THE STRENGTH AUTHORIZED BY VARIOUS WESTERN AUTHORITIES. IT WAS NORMALLY HIGHER THAN ACTUAL STRENGTH BUT NOT NECESSARILY SO. THE TERM QUOTE ACTUAL STRENGTH UNQUOTE COVERED THOSE ACTUALLY ON DUTY IN THE REDUCTION AREA OR ASSIGNED TO IT AND TEMPORARILY ABSENT.

24. FRG REP STATED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO ASK THE EAST A NUMBER OF FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS ABOUT EASTERN DATA AND COUNTING RULES. THE FIRST ONE WAS THIS: DID THE EASTERN TOTAL FOR MILITARY  
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PERSONNEL AS OF JANUARY 1, 1976 DIFFER FROM THE TOTAL OF  
WARSAW PACT MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE AREA ON 1 JANUARY 1975  
BECAUSE OF CHANGES IN THE STATUS OF ANY PERSONNEL OR GROUPS OF  
PERSONNEL FROM MILITARY STATUS TO ANY OTHER STATUS, SUCH AS THE  
STATUS OF RESERVES OR CIVILIANS OR OTHER UNIFORMED ORGANIZATIONS.

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FROM US REP MBFR

WESTERN REPS WERE STILL AWAITING THE EAST'S REPLY TO THEIR  
QUESTIONS AS TO WHETHER THE EAST HAD INCLUDED IN ITS FIGURE THE  
MILITARY PERSONNEL OF THE POLISH PROVINCIAL STAFFS AND ON THE  
LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS WHOSE PERSONNEL THE EAST HAD EXCLUDED  
FROM ITS COUNT. IN THE MEANWHILE, WESTERN REPS WOULD LIKE TO  
ASK THE EAST THIS: THE EAST STATED THAT IT HAD EXCLUDED FROM  
ITS FIGURES THE CONSCRIPT PERSONNEL OF THE QUOTE POLISH  
TERRITORIAL FORCES UNQUOTE. DID THE TERM QUOTE POLISH TERRITORIAL  
FORCES UNQUOTE WHICH THE EAST HAD USED REFER SOLELY TO THE  
ORGANIZATION KNOWN AS WOJSK OBRONA TERRITORIALNI (WOT) OR TO  
OTHERS IN ADDITION? WHAT DID THE EAST MEAN BY THE TERM QUOTE  
"POLISH TERRITORIAL FORCES"? UNQUOTE. WHICH ACTIVE DUTY PERSONNEL  
HAD BEEN EXCLUDED UNDER THIS HEADING "OF POLISH TERRITORIAL  
FORCES"?

25. FRG REP ASKED IF THE EAST HAD EXCLUDED ANY POLISH ACTIVE

DUTY PERSONNEL FROM ITS COUNT OTHER THAN THE CONSCRIPT PERSONNEL

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OF THE WOJSK OBRONA TERRITORIALNI? DID ANY OF THE CONSCRIPT PERSONNEL OF THE POLISH TERRITORIAL FORCES PERFORM FUNCTIONS FOR THE ARMED FORCES OF THE TYPE IDENTIFIED ON LAST A WHICH WESTERN REPS HAD GIVEN THE EAST. DID EITHER CZECHOSLOVAKIA OR THE GDR HAVE FORCES DESIGNATED AS TERRITORIAL FORCES? IF SO, WHAT WERE THESE ORGANIZATIONS? IF SO, HAD ANY OF THEIR PERSONNEL BEEN EXCLUDED FROM EASTERN FIGURES?

26. TARASOV ASKED WHETHER FRG REP HAD COMPLETED HIS QUESTIONS. FRG REP SAID THESE WERE ALL THE QUESTIONS HE WISHED TO ADVANCE FOR THE MOMENT. HE DID HAVE MANY MORE TO ASK.

27. TARASOV STATED THAT, IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF FEB 22, THE NETHERLANDS REP HAD SET FORTH SOME GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF THE WESTERN REPS ABOUT THE EASTERN ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE FIGURES OF THE ARMED FORCE MANPOWER IN THE REDUCTION AREA WHICH WERE SUBMITTED BY NATO COUNTRIES AS FAR BACK AS NOV 1973 AND WHICH WERE UPHELD BY THEM LATER ON. THE NETHERLANDS REP HAD QUOTED IN PARTICULAR THAT THE POSTURE OF THE SOCIALIST STATES ALLEGEDLY PROVED THAT THEY QUOTE DID NOT DENY THE FACT THAT THERE EXISTED A SUBSTANTIAL MANPOWER DISPARITY IN THEIR FAVOR UNQUOTE. AS FAR AS THIS CONCLUSION OF THE NETHERLANDS REP WAS CONCERNED, EASTERN REPS WISHED FIRST OF ALL TO EMPHASIZE THAT THEY HAD NEVER AND NOWHERE SET FORTH SUCH A POSITION. TO THE CONTRARY, FROM THE VERY OUTSET OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, THEY HAD DEFINITELY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY REJECTED BOTH THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF A DISPARITY AND THE ACCURACY OF THE FIGURES USED AS ITS BASIS. IN THE PLENARY SESSION OF 13 DEC 1973, THE SOVIET DELEGATION STRESSED IN PARTICULAR THAT QUOTE THE CONCEPT OF DISPARITIES SET FORTH BY THE WESTERN COUNTRIES WAS AN ARTIFICIAL, FORCED CONCEPT, BASED ON ARBITRARILY CHOSEN FIGURES UNQUOTE.

28. TARASOV CONTINUED THAT THE REPS OF THE ALL EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD SPOKEN ABOUT THIS MATTER REPEATEDLY AND IN DETAIL. THIS APPRECIATION OF THE EASTERN POSITION INDICATED THAT THE NETHERLANDS REP'S IMPRESSION ABOUT THE ALLEGED

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ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONCEPT OF DISPARITIES AND WESTERN FIGURES WAS COMPLETELY SUBJECTIVE AND, WHAT WAS MORE, MISTAKEN. TO SUBSTANTIATE HIS ASSERTION, THE NETHERLANDS REP HAD PLEADED THAT THE EAST APPARENTLY DID NOT RAISE ANY SERIOUS OBJECTIONS TO THE WESTERN FIGURES FOR THE FORCES OF THE EASTERN COUNTRIES.

AFTER STATING THIS, NETHERLANDS REP HAD REACHED A RATHER STRANGE CONCLUSION, THAT, IF THERE WERE DISCREPANCIES IN WESTERN FIGURES ON WARSAW TREATY ARMED FORCES, THEY WERE NOT AS LARGE AS THEY WERE AT PRESENT.

29. WESTERN REPS QUESTIONED THIS STATEMENT, POINTING OUT THAT TARASOV HAD MISQUOTED NETHERLANDS REP. THE LATTER HAD MADE THE POINT THAT, IF THE DIVERGENCE HAD BEEN AS GREAT AS PRESENT EASTERN FIGURES SEEMED TO INDICATE, WHY DID THE EAST NOT SERIOUSLY QUESTION WESTERN FIGURES.

30. TARASOV CONTINUED, SUCH A CONCLUSION WAS BASED ON A MISTAKEN ASSUMPTION AND DID NOT HAVE UNDER IT ANY FACTUAL BASIS. THE EAST HAD NEVER AGREED TO THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF DISPARITIES AND THE FIGURES USED AS ITS BASIS. WESTERN REPS HAD REALIZED THIS THEMSELVES. THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE NETHERLANDS REP HAD SAID IN HIS PLENARY STATEMENT OF 19 MAY 1976 THAT THE EAST, WHILE CONTESTING THE ACCURACY OF WESTERN DATA, HAD DURING ALL THIS TIME DECLINED TO TABLE DATA OF ITS OWN.

31. TARASOV CONTINUED THAT, UNTIL THE MIDDLE OF THE PREVIOUS YEAR, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD PRESENTED NO FIGURES ON THEIR PART SINCE THEY OPPOSED PREMATURE OPENING OF THE DATA DISCUSSION FOR REASONS OF PRINCIPLE KNOWN TO WESTERN PARTICIPANTS. THEREFORE, UNTIL THAT MOMENT, WESTERN REPS HAD KNOWN NOTHING ABOUT EASTERN FIGURES. ONE MIGHT ASK THEN, WHAT WERE THE GROUNDS FOR NATO REPS TO JUDGE WHETHER THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN EASTERN FIGURES AND WESTERN ESTIMATES WAS LARGE OR NOT? THIS WAS COMPLETELY BEYOND UNDERSTANDING. AS A RATIONALE FOR HIS ARGUMENTS THE NETHERLANDS REP HAD TRIED TO USE THE STANDPOINT OF THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS THAT ONE COULD NOT ASSESS THE FORCE

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RELATIONSHIP BY ONLY ONE COMPONENT, THAT IS, THE GROUND FORCES. BUT WESTERN REPS WERE FULLY AWARE THAT EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD STOOD FOR AND CONTINUED TO STAND FOR THE REDUCTION OF ALL FORMATIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES TOGETHER WITH THEIR ARMAMENTS. THIS WAS PRECISELY WHY EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD ALWAYS BEEN AGAINST THE ONE-SIDED STRESS GIVEN BY WESTERN REPS TO GROUND FORCES ONLY. AND THIS WAS WHY EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD POINTED OUT THAT ARMED FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED IN THEIR TOTALITY.

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32. TARASOV CONTINUED THAT EASTERN PARTICIPANTS ALWAYS CONSIDERED THE FACT THAT, UNTIL LAST DECEMBER, THE NATO COUNTRIES HAD PRESENTED FIGURES FOR GROUND FORCES AS ONLY AN EXPRESSION OF THEIR OWN UNACCEPTABLE REDUCTION APPROACH, ACCORDING TO WHICH REDUCTIONS SHOULD COVER ONLY GROUND FORCES. IN ASSESSING THE FORCE RELATIONSHIP, ALL COMPONENTS OF THE ARMED FORCES SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT EVEN IF THERE EXISTED AN APPROXIMATE PARITY IN MANPOWER. IN SPEAKING OF THE FORCE RELATIONSHIP, ONE SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THAT THIS CONCEPT COMPRISED MANPOWER, THE NUMBER OF MILITARY UNITS AND FORMATIONS, AND ARMAMENTS AND COMBAT EQUIPMENT AS WELL, AND THAT THIS WAS INCONTESTABLY TRUE. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS CONTINUED TO UPHOLD THIS APPROACH NOW AFTER THEY HAD PRESENTED DATA ON THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE FORCES OF THE WARSAW TREATY COUNTRIES IN THE REDUCTION AREA. THEREFORE, ANY ARGUMENT THAT EASTERN PARTICIPANTS ALLEGEDLY WISHED TO USE THE ABOVE-MENTIONED APPROACH IN ORDER TO OFFSET THE DISPARITIES STATED BY THE

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WEST WERE COMPLETELY UNFOUNDED.

33. TARASOV CONTINUED THAT, IN THE EFFORT TO REACH AN ACCURATE AND OBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE FORCE RELATIONSHIP IN CENTRAL EUROPE, INCLUDING THAT IN MANPOWER, THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD SOME TIME AGO COME FORWARD WITH THE KNOWN PROPOSAL TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT, WHILE COUNTING THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF FORCES OF STATES, THE DIFFERENCES IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

AND ENROLLMENT PRINCIPLES AND IN PARTICULAR THE FACT THAT THERE EXISTED AMONG THE MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE TROOPS OF THE WARSAW TREATY COUNTRIES PERSONNEL ACTUALLY PERFORMING FUNCTIONS SIMILAR TO THOSE PERFORMED BY THE CIVILIAN PERSONNEL IN THE NATO ARMIES. NATO REPRESENTATIVES HAD TOTALLY REJECTED THE EASTERN APPROACH, PROBABLY CONSIDERING THAT ITS ACCEPTANCE WOULD UNDERMINE THEIR BASIC NEGOTIATING POSITION. IN THE EFFORT TO FACILITATE A SOLUTION OF THIS ISSUE, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS, IN THE PROCESS OF COUNTING THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THEIR TROOPS SUBMITTED LAST JUNE, HAD TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT THE WESTERN VIEWPOINT AND HAD AS ALREADY MENTIONED INCLUDED IN THEIR DATA ALL MILITARY PERSONNEL. THAT IS, PERSONNEL WEARING MILITARY UNIFORMS AND BEING ON THE ROSTERS OF SUB-UNITS, UNITS AND FORMATIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS IN THE REDUCTION AREA.

34. TARASOV CONTINUED THAT, IN SUMMING UP HIS ARGUMENTS, NETHERLANDS REPRESENTATIVE HAD ASKED EASTERN REPRESENTATIVE A RHETORICAL QUESTION "IF YOU BELIEVE THAT YOUR FIGURES ARE ACCURATE, THEN WHY HAD THE EAST THROUGH THE WHOLE NEGOTIATIONS DECLINED THE OUTCOME PROPOSED BY THE WEST, PARITY IN MANPOWER AND APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND FORCES?" IN THIS CONNECTION, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WANTED TO POINT OUT THE FOLLOWING: EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD REPEATEDLY EXPLAINED THE REASONS WHY THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF PARITY, CONSISTING IN ESTABLISHING THE SO-CALLED COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING, WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THEM. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WOULD NOT NOW REPEAT THE POINTS THEY HAD MADE ON THIS

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SUBJECT PREVIOUSLY. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD ALSO GIVEN A DETAILED EXPLANATION OF THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF PARITY. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS BELIEVED THAT, BASED ON THE OBJECTIVE EXISTENCE OF APPROXIMATE PARITY IN THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE FORCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AND CARRYING OUT REDUCTIONS BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OF TROOPS TOGETHER WITH THEIR ARMAMENTS BY EQUAL PERCENTAGES, PARTICIPANTS WOULD NOT QUOTE FRUSTRATE UNQUOTE APPROXIMATE PARITY IN THE FORCE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AS WELL AS IN THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THEIR ARMED FORCES AND WOULD COME IN THE OUTCOME OF REDUCTIONS TO EQUIVALENT RESULTS FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS OF A FUTURE AGREEMENT.

35. TARASOV CONTINUED THAT THE EXISTENCE OF APPROXIMATE PARITY IN THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF TROOPS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES DID NOT IN THE LEAST BIND EASTERN PARTICIPANTS TO AGREE TO THOSE REDUCTION OUTCOMES WHICH NATO PARTICIPANTS WISHED TO ACHIEVE. FOR EASTERN PARTICIPANTS, THIS WAS NOT A MATTER OF FIGURES BUT A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, SINCE THEY HAD ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS SHOULD LEAD TO A DECREASE

OF THE MILITARY POTENTIAL IN CENTRAL EUROPE WITHOUT CHANGING  
THE HISTORICALLY SHAPED FORCE RELATONSHIP IN THIS AREA.  
THIS DPERTAINED, AS WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES FULLY UNDER-  
STOOD, NOT MERELY TO MANPOWER BUT TO ARMAMENTS AS WELL.

36. TARASOV SAID WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES AND THE NETHERLANDS  
REP AMONG THEM HAD BEEN COMPLAINING ABOUT THE FACT THAT THERE  
EXISTED QUITE A LARGE AND UNEXPLAINED DISCREPANCY BETWEEN  
OFFICIAL FIGURES SUBMITTED BY EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES AND THE  
ASSESSMENTS OF THE NATO COUNTRIES CONCERNING THE EASTERN ARMED  
FORCES INCLUDING THE GROUND FORCES. BUT IF SUCH A DISCREPANCY  
DID EXIST, THIS WAS NOT THE FAULT OF EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES.  
WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES SHOULD LOOK FOR THE REASONS FOR THIS DIS-  
CREPANCY IN THEIR OWN ASSESSMENT. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES DID  
NOT KNOW HOW THE WEST HAD BEEN CALCULATING AND WHAT  
METHODOLOGY IT HAD USED FOR COUNTING. HOWEVER, THE FACTS  
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PROVED THAT WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES THEMSELVES WERE NOT

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FROM US REP MBFR

SURE OF THE ACCURACY OF THEIR OWN ASSESSMENT. THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE NETHERLANDS REPRESENTATIVE IN HIS STATEMENT IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF NOVEMBER 12, 1974 HAD SAID THAT THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE "READY TO AMEND THE FIGURES SUBMITTED BY THEM AND TO EXCLUDE FROM THE OVERALL GROUND FORCE MANPOWER OF THE WARSAW TREATY COUNTRIES A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF MILITARY PERSONNEL". THEN, FOR REASONS EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES COULD NOT UNDERSTAND, WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD INCREASED THEIR ASSESSMENT OF EASTERN TROOPS BY MORE THAN 14,000 MEN, ALTHOUGH, DURING THE ELAPSED PERIOD OF TIME, THERE HAD BEEN NO INCREASE IN THEIR NUMERICAL STRENGTH BY STATING THAT THESE MORE THAN 14,000 MEN HAD BEEN ADDED BY WESTERN PARTICIPANTS "ON THE GROUND OF REFINEMENT OF COUNTING RULES", WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD THEMSELVES ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THEIR COUNT WAS NOT ACCURATE FROM THE VERY BEGINNING. THE INACCURACY OF THESE CALCULATIONS HAD LED THE WEST FROM THE VERY BEGINNING TO MAJOR OVERSTATEMENT

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OF THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF EASTERN FORCES. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS KNEW THEIR TROOP STRENGTH BETTER THAN WESTERN PARTICIPANTS WOULD AND THIS WAS QUITE NATURAL.

37. TARASOV SAID THE WESTERN ASSESSMENT COULD NOT BUT LEAD TO THE IDEA THAT THE WESTERN COUNTRIES WERE SEEKING NOT TO IDENTIFY THE REAL SITUATION, BUT TO JUSTIFY BY ALL MEANS THEIR DEMAND THAT THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS SHOULD REDUCE SUBSTANTIALLY MORE OF THEIR TROOPS, WHICH WAS THE GOAL SOUGHT BY THE NATO PARTICIPANTS. AMBASSADOR KHLESTOV AS FAR BACK AS 19 NOVEMBER 1974 STATED AT THE INFORMAL SESSION ON THAT DATE THAT "WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES MIGHT DO WHATEVER THEY DEEMED NECESSARY WITH THE FIGURES SUBMITTED BY THEM, EITHER AMEND THEM OR LEAVE THEM UNTOUCHED." BY THIS IT HAD BEEN MADE CLEAR THAT THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS COULD NOT TREAT THESE ASSESSMENTS SERIOUSLY AND THAT THEY WERE NOT GOING TO CONFIRM OR DENY THEM. WESTERN PARTICIPANTS DID NOT SEEM TO HAVE ATTACHED IMPORTANCE TO THAT STATEMENT. NOW, WHEN EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD ON THE NEGOTIATING TABLE OFFICIAL DATA FOR THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH FOR THE ARMED FORCES FOR THE WARSAW TREATY COUNTRIES IN THE REDUCTION AREA, THE ISSUE OF THE WESTERN ASSESSMENT COULD AND SHOULD BE DROPPED FROM THE DISCUSSION. BUT SINCE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS CONTINUE TO INSIST ON THESE ASSESSMENTS, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAVE PUT A PRECISE AND CLEAR QUESTION TO WESTERN PARTICIPANTS. WHAT WAS THE BASIS FOR THOSE ASSESSMENTS AND HOW DID WESTERN PARTICIPANTS MANAGE TO FIND SUCH A DISPARITY EXCEEDING 150,000 MEN? WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD STILL NOT GIVEN THEIR ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION AND EASTERN PARTICIPANTS AWAITED IT.

38. BELGIAN REP ASKED TARASOV WHETHER HE WISHED TO ANSWER THE QUESTIONS WHICH THE FRG REP HAD POSED AT THAT POINT OR WHETHER HE, THE BELGIAN REP, SHOULD MAKE HIS STATEMENT. TARASOV REQUESTED BELGIAN REP TO PROCEED.

39. BELGIAN REP, DRAWING ON TALKING POINTS APPROVED BY THE  
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AD HOC GROUP SAID THAT, AT THE MEETING ON FEBRUARY 22, AMBASSADOR OESER HAD MADE A NUMBER OF CRITICISMS REGARDING THE DATA THE WEST HAD SUBMITTED ON THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES OF EACH SIDE DURING THE PERIOD SINCE THESE TALKS HAD BEGUN. WESTERN REPS DID NOT AGREE THAT THESE CRITICISMS WERE WELL FOUNDED. AT THE SAME TIME, THIS DID NOT MEAN THAT THEY QUESTIONED THE RIGHT OF EASTERN PARTICIPANTS TO RAISE SUCH QUESTIONS AND CRITICISM. TO THE CONTRARY, WESTERN REPS BELIEVED THAT, SINCE THE GOAL OF THESE DISCUSSIONS WAS TO CLARIFY THE SITUATION AS REGARDS THE ACTUAL FACTS, EACH SIDE HAD A LEGITIMATE RIGHT TO QUESTION STATEMENTS MADE BY THE OTHER SIDE ABOUT DATA.

40. BELGIAN REP STATED THAT TO TURN NOW TO THE SPECIFIC POINTS RAISED BY AMBASSADOR OESER, THE LATTER ASKED, FIRST, WHAT WAS THE BASIS FOR WESTERN ASSERTIONS THAT THERE WAS A DISPARITY IN NUMERICAL STRENGTH BETWEEN THE GROUND FORCES OF THE NATO COUNTRIES AND THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. WESTERN REPS' ANSWER WAS THAT WESTERN FIGURES FOR THE NUMERICAL MANPOWER STRENGTH OF GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER OF BOTH WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND THE FORCES OF EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA WERE BASED ON THE APPLICATION OF THE SAME COUNTING RULES TO THE FORCES OF BOTH SIDES. AS THEY HAD TOLD THE EAST, WESTERN FIGURES FOR NATO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS INCLUDED ALL ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE AREA, WHATEVER THEIR ACTIVITY OR FUNCTION, EXCEPT FOR NAVAL PERSONNEL. THAT IS, WESTERN FIGURES INCLUDED ALL PERSONNEL, REGARDLESS OF THE TYPE OF UNIT, FORMATION OR COMMAND TO WHICH THEY WERE ASSIGNED, WHO DEVOTED FULL TIME TO MILITARY SERVICE, AND WHO WERE SUBJECT TO MILITARY ORDERS AND DISCIPLINE, AND WHO WERE AUTHORIZED TO WEAR A MILITARY UNIFORM. FOR EXAMPLE, THE WEST'S FIGURES ON ITS OWN FORCES ALSO INCLUDED ALL ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL, REGARDLESS OF THEIR FUNCTION, WHO WORKED IN MINISTRIES OF DEFENSE, ALL TYPES OF HEADQUARTERS, MILITARY OFFICES AND ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS,  
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ON THE STAFFS OF MILITARY DISTRICTS AND REGIONS, AND IN  
MILITARY ACADEMIES, SCHOOLS AND TRAINING ESTABLISHMENTS.  
THE WEST HAD APPLIED EXACTLY THE SAME CRITERIA IN COUNTING  
THE ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY MANPOWER OF EASTERN FORCES IN  
THE AREA.

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41. BELGIAN REP SAID THAT AFTER APPLYING THE SAME CRITERIA  
EVENHANDEDLY TO THE FORCES OF BOTH SIDES ON THE BASIS OF  
INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE WEST ON BOTH EASTERN AND WESTERN  
FORCES, WESTERN REPS HAD CONCLUDED THAT, IN TERMS ACTIVE DUTY  
MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE AREA, THE EAST HAD A NUMERICAL  
SUPERIORITY OF CONSIDERABLY MORE THAN 150,000 MEN, TAKING INTO  
CONSIDERATION BOTH GROUND AND AIR FORCES. HE ADDED THAT  
WESTERN FIGURES ON EASTERN MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE AREA WERE  
THE PRODUCT OF ACCUMULATED INFORMATION AND INTENSIVE ANALYSIS,  
IN WHICH THE ACTUAL INDIVIDUAL UNITS, FORMATIONS, COMMANDS  
AND INSTALLATIONS WHICH COMPRISED EASTERN MILITARY FORCES IN  
THE AREA HAD BEEN SPECIFICALLY IDENTIFIED AND ACCOUNTED FOR.

42. BELGIAN REP STATED THAT A FURTHER ISSUE MENTIONED BY  
AMB OESER IN THIS CONTEXT HAD CONCERNED THE ALLOCATION OF  
CERTAIN TYPES OF FORCES BETWEEN GROUND AND AIR. ON THIS POINT,  
BELGIAN REP REPEATED WHAT AMB RESOR HAD SAID LAST TIME.

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EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD IN PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS CLAIMED THAT THERE WERE SOME INCONSISTENCIES WITH RESPECT TO THE WESTERN ALLOCATION OF THE TWO FORCE CATEGORIES MENTIONED BY AMB OESER, AND ALSO OF A THIRD -- HELICOPTER PERSONNEL. WESTERN REPS HAD IN THE PAST SAID THAT THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE RESOLUTIONS OF THESE ISSUES WITH THE EAST, BUT ONLY AFTER THE NUMERICAL EFFECTS OF SUCH A RESOLUTION HAD BECOME CLEAR. BUT, IN ANY EVENT, IT SHOULD BE CLEAR THAT THE SPECIFIC ALLOCATION OF A GIVEN FORCE CATEGORY TO GROUND OR AIR FORCES DID NOT AFFECT THE SIZE OF THE COMBINED TOTAL OF AIR AND GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN THE AREA NOR, CONSEQUENTLY, THE SIZE OF THE DISPARITY BETWEEN THE TOTAL OF EASTERN AND WESTERN FORCES IN THE AREA. AND THAT WAS THE ISSUE WHICH THE PARTICIPANTS WERE ADDRESSING AT THIS STAGE IN THE DISCUSSION OF DATA AND WHICH SHOULD LOGICALLY BE RESOLVED FIRST.

43. BELGIAN REP SAID THAT AMB OESER HAD ALSO ALLEGED THAT THE WEST HAD MADE ASSERTIONS OF AN INCREASE IN THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE WARSAW PACT ARMED FORCES IN THE AREA. AS WESTERN REPS HAD INDICATED TO THE EAST ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS OVER THE PAST YEARS, WESTERN FIGURES FOR BOTH WARSAW PACT FORCES AND NATO FORCES WERE SUBJECT TO ADJUSTMENT ARISING FROM CONTINUING REVIEW BASED ON INFORMATION AT THE WEST'S DISPOSAL. ON OCT 29, 1974, WESTERN REPS INFORMED THE EAST THAT, AS A RESULT OF THIS PROCESS, THE WEST'S REVISED TOTALS SHOWED A SLIGHT INCREASE FOR THE FORCES OF BOTH SIDES. ON DEC 15 OF LAST YEAR, WESTERN REPS HAD TOLD THE EAST MORE SPECIFICALLY THAT, AS A RESULT OF A REVIEW OF DATA ON WESTERN FORCES AND MORE PRECISE COMPILATION, THE TOTALS FOR THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS HAD INCREASED BY SOME 14,000. HOWEVER, AS WESTERN REPS HAD SAID, THERE HAD BEEN NO ACTUAL INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF NATO PERSONNEL OVER THE FIGURES THE WEST HAD TABLED IN NOV 1973. WESTERN REPS HAD ALSO TOLD THE EAST THAT, AS A RESULT OF REVISED COMPUTATIONS, WESTERN TOTALS FOR WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCE MANPOWER HAD INCREASED BY A NUMBER SOMEWHAT LARGER THAN THE 14,000-MAN INCREASE IN WESTERN FORCES. WESTERN REPS HAD  
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MADE NO STATEMENT AS TO AN ACTUAL INCREASE IN EASTERN FORCES.

44. BELGIAN REP STATED THAT A THIRD POINT RAISED BY AMB OESER CONCERNED WHAT WESTERN REPS HAD ALLEGEDLY SAID IN THE PAST CONCERNING THE RELATIVE SIZE OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER ON EACH SIDE. AMB OESER HAD ASSERTED THAT WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD IN THE PAST

CLAIMED THAT THE AIR FORCE MANPOWER ON EACH SIDE WAS QUOTE IN  
ESSENCE IDENTICAL UNQUOTE, BUT THAT NOW THE WEST WAS CLAIMING  
THAT THERE WERE SUBSTANTIAL ADVANTAGES FAVORING THE WARSAW  
TREATY. HE HAD FURTHER SAID THAT WESTERN NUMBERS SHOWED A  
DECREASE IN NATO'S AIR FORCE MANPOWER AND AN INCREASE IN EASTERN  
AIR MANPOWER. HOWEVER, THE EVIDENCE OF THE NEGOTIATING RECORD  
DID NOT BEAR OUT THESE ASSERTIONS. ON NOV 5, 1975 WESTERN REPS  
HAD TOLD THE EAST -- AS THEY HAD ALSO DONE ON OTHER OCCASION--  
THAT QUOTE THE AGGREGATE AIR FORCE MANPOWER TOTALS ON THE TWO  
SIDES WERE VERY NEARLY EQUAL, THOUGH WITH A SLIGHT WARSAW  
PACT SUPERIORITY UNQUOTE. WHAT WESTERN REPS TOLD THE EAST ON  
DEC 15, 1976, WAS THAT QUOTE ACCORDING TO WESTERN ESTIMATES  
AND ON THE BASIS OF THE WESTERN ALLOCATION, THE TOTAL OF WARSAW  
PACT AIR FORCE MANPOWER WAS SOMEWHAT LARGER THAN THE TOTAL  
OF WESTERN AIR MANPOWER. UNQUOTE. THIS STATEMENT CONFORMED TO  
THE WEST'S EARLIER STATEMENTS ON THIS TOPIC AND, CONTRARY TO  
AMB OESER'S STATEMENT, HAD NOT REPRESENTED A CLAIM THAT EASTERN  
AIR MANPOWER HAD INCREASED. AS REGARDS NATO AIR MANPOWER,  
THE WEST HAD IN THE PAST, FOR EXAMPLE ON NOV 2, 1976, NOTED  
TO EASTERN REPS THAT THE WEST HAD PROVIDED ILLUSTRATIVE FIGURES  
OF 700,000 FOR THE COMMON CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER  
AND 900,000 ON OVERALL MILITARY MANPOWER. ONE COULD LOGICALLY  
CONCLUDE

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FROM US REP MBFR



FROM THESE FIGURES THAT WESTERN AIR FORCE MANPOWER WAS ABOUT 200,000 MEN. THE ACTUAL SIZE OF WESTERN AIR FORCE MANPOWER, AS INDICATED BY THE SPECIFIC FIGURES THE WEST HAD TABLED IN DECEMBER, DID NOT CONFLICT WITH THESE EARLIER WESTERN STATEMENTS.

45. POLISH REP SAID HE INTENDED TO GIVE ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS WESTERN QUESTIONS. BEFORE ANSWERING QUESTIONS EARLIER POSED BY WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WANTED TO MAKE ONE GENERAL COMMENT ON THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION ON NUMERICAL DATA. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE READY TO CONDUCT IN A BUSINESSLIKE AND CONSTRUCTIVE WAY THE DISCUSSION ON THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. THIS HAD BEEN REFLECTED THE FACT THAT DURING RECENT INFORMAL SESSIONS, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD EXPLAINED IN DETAIL THE NUMERICAL DATA SUBMITTED BY THEM AND HAD GIVEN EXTENSIVE REPLIES TO THE NUMEROUS QUESTIONS PUT FORWARD BY THE WESTERN REPRESENT-  
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ATIVES. IN THE COURSE OF GIVING THESE ANSWERS, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD OF COURSE TRIED TO UNDERSTAND THE SENSE AND THE PURPOSE OF WHAT HAD BEEN ASKED BY THEIR WESTERN COLLEAGUES. HOWEVER, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD RECEIVED THE IMPRESSION THAT IN ADDITION TO FULLY UNDERSTANDABLE QUESTIONS, WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD RECENTLY AND ALSO IN THE PRESENT SESSION BEGAN TO PUT MORE AND MORE QUESTIONS WHICH SEEMED TO BE REPETITIVE OF THE QUESTIONS ASKED PREVIOUSLY OR TO HAVE AN ALTOGETHER SOMEWHAT UNCLEAR CHARACTER. IF PARTICIPANTS NOW AFTER A THREE YEAR PERIOD OF WORK BEGAN ASKING QUESTIONS AS TO THE MEANING OF THE TERMS "ARMED FORCES" OR "NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES" OR TO EXPLAIN WHETHER ALL UNITS OR SUB UNITS HAD ROSTERS, THEN PARTICIPANTS FACED THE RISK OF LOSING STILL MORE TIME. THESE MATTERS WERE KNOWN TO ANYONE WITH ONLY A SLIGHT KNOWLEDGE OF MILITARY AFFAIRS. SOME OF THE QUESTIONS POSED BY WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES SEEMED STRANGE TO EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES SINCE CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS WERE TO BE FOUND IN THE EAST'S FEBRUARY 15 EXPLANATION THAT THE DATA PRESENTED BY THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS INCLUDED ALL SERVICEMEN WEARING MILITARY UNIFORMS AND BEING ON THE ROSTERS OF SUB-UNITS, UNITS AND FORMATIONS, IN THE AREA.

46. POLISH REP CONTINUED THAT, IN MAKING THIS GENERAL COMMENT, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES DID NOT INTEND IN ANY WAY TO LIMIT THE DISCUSSION ON FIGURES. EASTERN REPS WOULD CONTINUE TO GIVE THE NECESSARY ANSWERS AND EXPLANATIONS TO ALL QUESTIONS OF WESTERN REPS RELEVANT TO THE SUBJECT. NEVERTHELESS, THEY WERE ANXIOUS THAT THE EXPLANATIONS ON

NUMERICAL DATA HAVE A TRULY BUSINESS-LIKE AND PRUPOSIVE CHARACTER AND THAT THESE EXPLANATIONS DID NOT NEEDLESSLY DELAY THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

47. POLISH REP SAID HE NOW WANTED TO ANSWER QUESTIONS ASKED BY WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES IN THE INFORMAL SESSIONS  
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OF 15 AND 22 FEBRUARY. ON FEBRUARY 15TH, THE US REP HAD ASKED WHAT FORMATIONS OF OTHER MINISTRIES AND DEPARTMENTS WERE EXCLUDED FROM THE SUBMITTED TOTALS ON THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE WARSAW TREATY STATES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION WAS: WESTERN REPS KNEW THAT EASTERN REPS HAD ALREADY SPOKEN IN GENERAL OF WHAT CATEGORY OF PERSONNEL WEARING UNIFORMS AND CARRYING WEAPONS HAD NOT BEEN INCLUDED BY THE EAST IN THE OVERALL NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF WARSAW TREATY STATES IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THIS HAD BEEN SAID IN PARTICULAR BY AMBASSADOR TARASOV ON FEBRUARY 15, AND ALSO IN THE EASTERN ANSWER TO THE FOURTH WESTERN QUESTION OF JUNE 29, 1976. NOW, EASTERN REPS WANTED TO PRESENT A MORE DETAILED EXPLANATION: FROM THE OVERALL NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF WARSAW TREATY ARMED FORCES, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD EXCLUDED THE FOLLOWING FORMATIONS OF OTHER MINISTRIES AND DEPARTMENTS:

(1) BORDER TROOPS OF THE GDR, POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA?

(2) FORCES FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNAL SECURITY OF POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND GDR;

(3) THE GDR PEOPLES' POLICE (VOLKSPOLIZEI);

(4) THE POLISH CITIZENS' MILITIA (MILICJA)

(5) THE PUBLIC SECURITY SERVICE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA (VERENJA BEZPECNOST), AND ALSO

(6) THE PERSONNEL FOR THE PROTECTION OF ENTERPRISES AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE GDR, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND POLAND.

48. POLISH REP SAID A FURTHER WESTERN QUESTION HAD BEEN:  
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DO YOU INCLUDE IN THE OVERALL NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE  
WARSAW TREATY ARMED FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE THE POLISH  
SEA LANDING DIVISION? THE ANSWER TO THIS WAS THAT, IN  
RESPONSE TO THE EASTERN QUESTION WHETHER THE MARINES HAD  
BEEN INCLUDED IN THE WESTERN NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE NATO  
ARMED FORCES, THE US REP, ON FEBRUARY 22ND, HAD ANSWERED  
IN THE NEGATIVE AND HAD POINTED OUT THAT THE NUMERICAL  
STRENGTH OF THIS UNIT IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS WAS  
INSIGNIFICANT. IN THIS CONNECTION, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES

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WISHED TO SUPPLEMENT THEIR EARLIER ANSWER CONCERNING THE POLISH  
UNIT WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD IN MIND. FIRST, HE WISHED TO STATE  
THAT THIS UNIT WAS NOT "SEA LANDING" BUT WAS ASSIGNED TO THE  
SEA COAST DEFENSE, TOGETHER WITH OTHER FORCES OF THE NAVY.  
BESIDES, THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THIS UNIT, AS WAS THE CASE  
WITH THE NATO STATES ON THE MARINES, WAS INSIGNIFICANT.

49. POLISH REP SAID A FURTHER WESTERN QUESTION WAS WHETHER  
THE EAST HAD INCLUDED IN EASTERN FIGURES THE POLISH PROVINCIAL  
STAFFS? THE ANSWER WAS AS FOLLOWS: THE VOYENDOSTVO MILITARY  
STAFF OF THE POLISH PEOPLES' REPUBLIC WAS COMPOSED OF SERVICEMEN  
BELONGING TO THE PROFESSIONAL STAFF OF THE POLISH TERRITORIAL  
FORCES. FOR THIS REASON, THEY HAD BEEN INCLUDED BY EASTERN

PARTICIPANTS IN COUNTING THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF WARSAW  
TREATY ARMED FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. THIS CLEARLY  
FOLLOWED FROM EXPLANATIONS EASTERN REPS HAD GIVEN AS TO HOW  
POLISH TERRITORIAL FORCES WERE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN COMPILING  
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THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE WARSAW TREATY ARMED FORCES.

50. US REP ASKED POLISH REP WHETHER HE COULD ANSWER ONE MORE  
QUESTION ABOUT POLISH TERRITORIAL FORCES, THAT RAISED BY  
FRG REP. THIS WAS, HOW THE EAST USED THE TERM "POLISH TERRITORIAL  
FORCES." DID THAT TERM REFER ONLY TO THE ORGANIZATION KNOWN  
AS VOJSK OBRONA TERRITORIALNI (WOT) OR TO OTHERS? POLISH REP  
SAID HE HAD NOTED THIS QUESTION. AN ANSWER WOULD BE GIVEN IN  
DUE TIME.

51. CZECHOSLOVAK REP SAID HE HAD NOT PARTICIPATED IN THE  
LAST INFORMAL SESSION, WHERE WESTERN REPS HAD ASKED WHETHER  
THERE WAS ANY MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE AREA NOT ASSIGNED TO  
THE WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION. THE ANSWER WAS AS FOLLOWS:  
CZECHOSLOVAK FORCES INCLUDED A SMALL NUMBER OF MILITARY  
PERSONNEL WHICH DID NOT BELONG TO THE SYSTEM OF THE WARSAW  
TREATY COUNTRIES. IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THESE MILITARY  
PERSONNEL WERE ON THE ROSTERS AND WORE MILITARY UNIFORM, THEY  
HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN THE COUNT OF THE TOTALS OF THE WARSAW  
TREATY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS.

52. POLISH REP SAID THAT, AFTER HAVING ANSWERED ALL  
PREVIOUS QUESTIONS RAISED BY WESTERN REPS, EASTERN REPS  
WISHED TO REMIND WESTERN REPS THAT EASTERN REPS HAD SEVERAL TIMES  
ASKED THE FOLLOWING QUESTION: WHAT IS THE BASIS OF THE WESTERN  
COUNTRIES' EVALUATION OF THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE WARSAW  
TREATY STATES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, AND FOR THEIR ASSERTION OF THE  
DISPARITY IN THE MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE TWO GROUPINGS?  
IN THE PRESENT SESSION, THE BELGIAN REP HAD GIVEN SOME  
GENERAL EXPLANATIONS ON THIS QUESTION. EASTERN REPS WERE  
AWAITING THE SPECIFIC WESTERN INFORMATION TO FOLLOW.

53. POLISH REP SAID EASTERN REPS HAD ALSO ASKED THE WEST THE  
FOLLOWING QUESTION: IS IT CORRECT FOR US TO UNDERSTAND THAT  
IN COUNTING NATO FORCES YOU HAVE APPLIED THE ROSTER PRINCIPLE --  
THAT IS, THAT YOU HAVE COUNTED ALL PERSONNEL ON THE ROSTER OF  
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UNITS AND SUB-UNITS ON JAN 1, 1976? EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WOULD  
STUDY THE ANSWER GIVEN BY FRG REP ON THIS POINT, BUT AT FIRST

SIGHT IT SEEMED TO EASTERN REPS THAT THIS ANSWER WAS "ELUSIVE" BECAUSE EASTERN REPS HAD NOT FOUND IN IT ANY REFERENCE TO THE ROSTER OF UNITS.

54. POLISH REP SAID THAT, SINCE HE HAD BEGAN HIS REMARKS WITH A GENERAL STATEMENT, HE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO CONCLUDE THEM BY A GENERAL STATEMENT. IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT IN THE COURSE OF THE PREVIOUS AS WELL AS THE PRESENT INFORMAL SESSION, EASTERN REPS HAD GIVEN DETAILED ANSWERS TO WESTERN QUESTIONS, WESTERN REPS CONTINUED TO INSIST ON THE EXISTENCE OF A SERIOUS DISPARITY IN THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE PARTICIPANTS. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE QUESTION AROSE, SHOULD PARTICIPANTS NOT, FOR THE PURPOSE OF CLARIFYING THE REASONS FOR THE EXISTING DISCREPANCY, AND FOR A BETTER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION OF ARMED FORCES DATA, EXAMINE THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPATING STATES, EACH OF THEM SEPARATELY? EASTERN REPS WOULD BE READY TO PROCEED TO SUCH A DISCUSSION.

55. DRAWING ON TALKING POINTS APPROVED BY THE AD HOC GROUP, US REP SAID THAT, AT THE INFORMAL MEETING OF 22 FEB, NETHERLANDS REP HAD STATED THAT THERE CONTINUED TO BE A LARGE AND SO FAR UNEXPLAINED DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE WESTERN FIGURES FOR WARSAW PACT FORCES IN THE AREA AND THE FIGURES WHICH THE EAST HAD TABLED ON 10 JUNE 1976 AND IT WAS THIS STILL UNEXPLAINED DISCREPANCY WHICH HAD LED WESTERN REPS TO ASK SOME QUESTIONS WPCH MIGHT HAVE APPEARED REPETITIVE. WESTERN REPS AGREED COMPLETELY THAT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD PROCEED IN AS BUSINESSLIKE A WAY AS POSSIBLE TO UNDERSTAND THE TRUE MEANING OF EACH OTHER'S DATA AND THAT IS WHAT WESTERN REPS WERE TRYING THEIR BEST TO ACHIEVE. AMB DE VOS HAD GONE ON TO DRAW EASTERN REPS ATTENTION TO CERTAIN

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-07  
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INFO USMISSION NATO  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USNMR SHAPE  
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 9 OF 9 MBFR VIENNA 0090

FROM US REP MBFR

SERIOUS INCONSISTENCIES IN THE EASTERN POSITION. THESE INCONSISTENCIES AROSE FROM DIVERGENCY BETWEEN THE POSITIONS WHICH EASTERN REPS HAD TAKEN ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES THROUGHOUT THE COURSE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE ASSERTIONS EASTERN REPS WERE NOW MAKING ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP OF MILITARY MANPOWER BETWEEN EAST AND WEST IN THE REDUCTION AREA. EASTERN REPS HAD ADDRESSED THIS SUBJECT TODAY AND THE WEST WOULD RETURN TO THESE COMMENTS IN THE NEXT SESSION, BUT HE WOULD SAY NOW SPEAKING ON A PERSONAL BASIS, THAT THE REMARKS MADE BY EASTERN PARTICIPANTS IN THE PRESENT SESSION HAD NOT MADE CLEAR TO HIM THE REASONS FOR THESE INCONSISTENCIES.

56. US REP SAID THAT HE WISHED TO DRAW EASTERN ATTENTION TO TWO FURTHER POINTS ON WHICH THERE WAS AN OPEN INCONSISTENCY BETWEEN POSITIONS THE EAST HAD TAKEN IN THE PAST AND ITS PRESENT DATA ASSERTIONS. THE FIRST CONCERNED THE OFTEN-REPEATED POSITION TAKEN BY EASTERN REPS IN THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS  
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THAT AN EXCHANGE OF DATA WAS NOT NECESSARY SINCE EACH SIDE HAD A GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE FORCE LEVELS OF THE OTHER. IN NOV 1973, AT THE OUTSET OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, THE WEST HAD TABLED DATA BOTH FOR ITS OWN FORCES AND FOR THOSE OF THE EAST. FOR TWO-AND-A-HALF YEARS THEREAFTER, THE WEST HAD PRESSED THE EAST TO TABLE ITS OWN FIGURES. WITH FULL KNOWLEDGE OF THE DATA THAT THE WEST HAD ACTUALLY TABLED, THE EAST ARGUED IN RESPONSE THAT IT WAS NOT NECESSARY FOR IT TO TABLE ITS OWN DATA IN RETURN BECAUSE BOTH SIDES HAD A ADEQUATE UNDERSTANDING OF THE STRENGTH OF THE FORCES IN THE AREA. TARASOV ASKED WHO HAD SAID THIS AND WHEN?

57. US REP STATED THAT, FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF 14 MARCH 1974, EASTERN REPS - US REP COULD PROVIDE THE NAMES LATER - HAD SAID THAT "EACH SIDE HAD AN APPROXIMATE UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT WAS WHAT ON THE OTHER SIDE" AND THAT "WHAT THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES HAD WAS KNOWN BY THE WEST." AT THE INFORMAL SESSION OF 19 NOV 1974, AN EASTERN REP HAD AGAIN STATED THAT "BOTH SIDES DID HAVE AN APPROXIMATE KNOWLEDGE, MORE OR LESS PRECISE, WHICH WAS QUITE SUFFICIENT TO DEAL WITH THE ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE REGARDING REDUCTIONS." IN THE INFORMAL DISCUSSION

OF MAY 27, 1975, AN EASTERN REP HAD SAID THAT, "AT THIS STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, BOTH EAST AND WEST HAD THE DATA NECESSARY FOR PROPOER EVALUATION OF THE SITUATION." THE WESTERN QUESTION WAS, HOW COULD SUCH STATEMENTS BE MADE IN A SITUATION WHERE THE WEST HAD ALREADY TABLED DATA ON EASTERN FORCES, IF AT THE SAME TIME, EASTERN REPS HAD CONSIDERED THAT THIS WESTERN DATA WAS SUBSTANTIALLY INACCURATE?

58. US REP SAID THAT HIS SECOND POINT CONCERNED REPEATED EASTERN CLAIM-THAT THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF A COMMON CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER WOULD LEAD TO A CHANGE IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES IN THE AREA AND THAT, AS A RESULT OF THIS CHANGE, THE WEST WOULD GAIN UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGE. FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF 22 MAY 1974, AN EASTERN REP HAD SAID: "THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT RUNS CONTRARY TO THE PRINCIPLE  
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OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY AND ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE THE EXISTING RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE." IN THE SAME SESSION, ANOTHER EASTERN REP HAD SAID THAT, BY REQUIRING A COMMON CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER, THE WEST WAS TRYING TO CHANGE THE BALANCE OF FORCES TO ITS ADVANTAGE. THESE ARGUMENTS WERE REPEATED BY EASTERN REPS IN BOTH INFORMAL AND PLENARY SESSIONS.

59. US REP STATED THAT WESTERN REPS FAILED, HOWEVER, TO SEE THE LOGICAL BASIS FOR SUCH EASTERN ARGUMENTS IF, AS THE EAST NOW APPEARED TO CLAIM, THERE ALREADY EXISTED APPROXIMATE PARITY BETWEEN THE GROUND FORCE MANPOWER OF THE TWO SIDES IN THE AREA. IF A SITUATION OF PARITY OF GROUND FORCE MANPOWER ON BOTH SIDES ACTUALLY EXISTED, HOW WAS IT POSSIBLE TO ASSERT THAT REDUCING THIS MANPOWER TO A COMMON CEILING AT A LOWER LEVEL WOULD CHANGE THE RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES IN THE AREA? STILL LESS WAS IT POSSIBLE TO STATE, AS EASTERN REPS HAD DONE ON MANY OCCASIONS, THAT AN OUTCOME OF PARITY IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN SUCH A SITUATION WOULD BE TO THE UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE OF THE WEST AND WOULD DIMINISH THE SECURITY OF EASTERN PARTICIPANTS.

60. US REP SAID THAT FOR THESE REASONS, AND FOR THOSE GIVEN BY NETHERLANDS REP ON 22 FEB, THE WEST COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY THE EAST HAD TAKEN THE POSITIONS DESCRIBED, IF IN FACT EASTERN REPS HAD BELIEVED ALL ALONG THAT MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE AREA WAS ROUGHLY EQUAL FOR BOTH SIDES. FROM THE BEGINNING OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, THE WEST HAD PRESENTED A CONSISTENT AND COHERENT CASE BASED ON THE FACTS OF THE EXISTING MILITARY SITUATION IN THE AREA. AT THE OUTSET, WESTERN REPS HAD PROVIDED EVIDENCE OF THE SITUATION BY PRESENTING DATA. THIS DATA HAD SHOWN A LARGE DISPARITY IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER FAVORING THE EAST. THE EAST, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAD SOUGHT TO DEMONSTRATE BY THE DATA IT TABLED ON 10 JUNE THAT THESE DISPARITIES WERE NEGLIGIBLE. IN DOING SO, EASTERN REPS WERE MAKING ASSERTIONS

WHICH ARE BOTH INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE WEST'S ASSESSMENT OF THE REALITIES AND INCONSISTENT WITH ARGUEMENTS ADVANCED BY EASTERN REPS OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS.

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61. US REP SAID EASTERN REPS HAD ADVANCED A SUGGESTION ABOUT DISCUSSION OF DATA ON A NATIONAL BASIS. WESTERN REPS WOULD TRY TO RESPOND TO THIS ON THE NEXT OCCASION.

62. THE SESSION WAS CONCLUDED. IT WAS AGREED TO HOLD THE NEXT SESSION ON MARCH 8. THE EAST WILL BE HOST.RESOR

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